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TELEGRAM

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E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: PROP, PGOV, MOPS, PREL, AF, UR, PK  
SUBJECT: NAJIB REVEALS ELEMENTS OF PDPA'S EVOLVING POLITICAL  
STRATEGY

1. SUMMARY: IN A PUBLISHED SUMMARY OF HIS REPORT TO THE JUNE  
PLENUM (GIVEN BROAD INTERNATIONAL PRESS PLAY ON THE BASIS OF  
MOSCOW DESPATCHES WHICH WE BELIEVE WERE LARGELY MISLEADING)  
PDPA GENERAL SECRETARY NAJIB OFFERS A SOMETIMES REVEALING  
ASSESSMENT OF THE PARTY'S CURRENT PLIGHT AND SOME INDICATIONS  
OF THE PARTY'S STRATEGY. HE INDICATES THE PARTY INTENDS TO  
"DRAW A LINE" BETWEEN THOSE WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH IT AND  
THOSE WHO WILL NOT, UNITING THE FORMER UNDER A COALITION TENT.  
GROUPS JOINING MUST ENDORSE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION (NR) AND  
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CONSOLIDATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. "PEACE

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JIRGAHS" ARE TO BE CONVENED WHERE POSSIBLE FROM THE VILLAGE TO THE PROVINCE LEVEL. ONCE CONVENED, DRA AND SOVIET TROOPS WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM THOSE AREAS WITH ONLY POLICE AND LOCAL MILITIA LEFT BEHIND TO KEEP THE PEACE. NAJIB NOTES SEVERAL UNDERTAKINGS AIMED AT SHORING UP THE FUTURE SOVIET PRESENCE. HE SUGGESTS THAT NR IN AFGHANISTAN MAY BECOME A PROTOTYPE FOR OTHER TROUBLED SOVIET THIRD WORLD CLIENT STATES. HE ANNOUNCES THE HOLDING OF A "HIGH PEACE JIRGAH," AND SEPARATE JIRGAHS FOR NOMADS AND FOR THE HAZARA POPULATION. THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION SOON WILL BE PUBLISHED. HE VIRTUALLY ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE "CEASEFIRE" HAS BEEN A DEAD LETTER SINCE MID-MARCH AND THAT THE SITUATION IN VARIOUS STRATEGIC AREAS IS "COMPLICATED." ADMITTING THAT DRA WRIT DOES NOT EXTEND MUCH BEYOND KABUL (WHAT OLD HANDS HERE REFER TO AS "KABULISTAN") NAJIB ACKNOWLEDGES THAT 92 PERCENT OF MILITARY "RECRUITS AND VOLUNTEERS" IN RECENT MONTHS HAVE BEEN DRAWN FROM KABUL. HE ALSO ADMITS THE EXISTENCE IN THE PARTY OF THOSE BENT ON SABOTAGING NR AND THE NEED FOR ADDITIONAL EXPULSIONS FROM THE PARTY. END SUMMARY.

2. POPA GENERAL SECRETARY NAJIB, IN HIS REPORT TO THE POPA'S JUNE 10 PLENUM, SUMMARIZED IN THE KABUL NEW TIMES (KNT) JUNE 15, REFORMULATES MUCH OLD RHETORIC AND INTRODUCES SOME NEW ELEMENTS INTO THE POPA'S "NATIONAL RECONCILIATION" STRATEGY. INTER ALIA, HE DISCUSSES PARTY STRATEGY AND INTENTIONS WITH REGARD TO REACHING OUT TO OPPONENTS; OFFERS MORE DETAIL ON THE POPA VISION OF FUTURE POLITICAL STRUCTURES; DISCUSSES "NR" IN TERMS OF ITS CURRENT PROBLEMS AND INTENDED FUTURE; REVEALS POPA INTENT TO MAINTAIN THE SOVIET ROLE IN AFGHANISTAN'S FUTURE; ANNOUNCES SEVERAL UPCOMING POLITICAL EVENTS AND DISCUSSES THE MILITARY SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY WITH SOME CANDOR AND MUCH CANT.

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3. NAJIB'S PROFESSED OUTREACH TO OPPONENTS:

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-- "WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO USE POLITICAL PRESSURE ON LOCAL AND FOREIGN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES THROUGH CONTACTS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REFUGEES, MODERATE MONARCHIST FRCS, TRIPARTITE PARTIES, SECOND RANK (SIC) COMMANDERS, OF THE OPPOSITION GROUPS, POLITICAL FIGURES OF THE PAST, FAMOUS AND INFLUENTIAL CLERGYMEN, ATTRACTION OF PRIVATE SECTIONS OF TRIBES AND THE ARMED GROUPS INSIDE...AS AN INTERRELATED WHOLE."

-- "IF ONE OF THE SEVEN PARTY COALITION (IN PESHAWAR) OR THE  
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MODERATE ROYALIST ORGANIZATION ACCEPTS NATIONAL RECONCILIATION  
AND DECLARES ITSELF OPENLY ... THEN WE ARE READY TO RENDER  
... COOPERATION."

-- NAJIB EXPLAINED THE PDPA APPROACH TO NON-PDPA GROUPS AS  
"LIKE A LINE DIVIDING ALL PARTIES, ORGANIZATIONS AND POLITICAL  
GROUPS INTO TWO CATEGORIES."

-- "WE (IN THE PARTY) SHOULD GET PREPARED FOR ... UNITING ALL  
PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN A UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT AGAINST  
REACTIONARY CIRCLES ... CREATING A RELIABLE BASTION AGAINST  
REACTION."

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4. STRUCTURE OF A NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM:

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-- "THE POLITBURO IS OF THE OPINION THAT ... THE PRESIDENTIAL  
SYSTEM IS MORE ACCEPTABLE. THEREFORE, THE PRESIDENT SHOULD  
NOT BE A SYMBOL OF POWER BUT HE SHOULD BE ITS REAL MANIFESTATION."

-- "NOW IT IS TIME THAT WE SHOULD PROPOSE STATE POSTS TO THE  
OPPOSITION."

-- "THE ISSUE OF MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM IS SET FORTH AS THE  
CONTINUATION AND GROWTH OF OUR POLITICAL TRADITIONS...GROUNDS  
HAVE BEEN LAID FOR BRINGING TO THE SCENE A NUMBER OF PARTIES  
AND ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN FUNCTIONING FOR SEVERAL YEARS  
AND (WHO) WANT TO SERVE THE ACCELERATION OF THE NR PROCESS."

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-- "WE DO NOT IMPOSE ON THESE PARTIES TO HAVE FULL AGREEMENT

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WITH THE POPA ON ISSUES OF THEORY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS. THEY CAN HAVE THEIR OWN VIEWS. HOWEVER...EVERY PARTY IS OBLIGED TO SUPPORT ... NR...AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF TRADITIONAL AND HISTORIC FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION."

-- "THOSE WHICH NEED JOINT EFFORTS CAN SET UP A BLOC" (OUTSIDE OF THE NATIONAL FRONT FORMULA).

-- "THE MECHANISM OF SUCH A BLOC (WOULD BE TO) CONVENE A FOUNDING CONGRESS, ENDORSE A UNIFIED PLATFORM OF RECONCILIATION AND SET UP A COORDINATING COUNCIL. THE BLOC CAN DEFINE ITS APPROACH TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT IN ITS PROGRAM."

-- NAJIB INDICATES SPECIFIC GROUPS LIKELY TO FORM PARTIES INCLUDING: CLERGY, PEASANTS AND A GROUP TO REFLECT THE PARTICULAR INTERESTS OF THE NATIONAL BOURGEOIS.

5. THE DIRECTION OF "NATIONAL RECONCILIATION":

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-- NOTING THAT "THE POLICY OF NR IS MORE DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED THAN WE ANTICIPATED," NAJIB OUTLINES EMPLOYMENT OF THE "PEACE JIRGAH" TO EXPAND AREAS UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL. HE EXPLAINS:

-- "PEACE JIRGAHS WILL BE CONVENED IN VILLAGES, SUB-DISTRICTS, DISTRICTS AND PROVINCES. AFTER A PEACE JIRGAH IS HELD, ARMY UNITS, BOTH AFGHAN AND SOVIET ONES WOULD COME OUT OF THE REGION, BUT SARANDOI (NATIONAL POLICE) AND SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS WOULD REMAIN AND FORMER OPPONENTS COULD JOIN THEM."

6. ENSURING THE CONTINUANCE OF THE SOVIET ROLE:

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NAJIB INDICATES A SERIES OF MEASURES APPARENTLY INTENDED TO LOCK IN A CONTINUING SOVIET ROLE AND PRESENCE IN ANY FUTURE POLITICAL SCENARIO. IN ADDITION TO REQUIRING ALL PARTIES TO SUPPORT THE "CONSOLIDATION" OF RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION HE NOTES THAT:

-- WE ARE SEEING NEW FORMS OF CO-OPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION ...THE CO-OPERATION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS OF CENTRAL ASIA WITH OUR PROVINCES." "A SPECIAL ORGANIZATION WILL BE SET UP UNDER THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS FOR CO-OPERATION WITH THE

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REPUBLICS OF THE USSR."

-- ADDRESSING PARTY CADRE SPECIFICALLY HE STRESSES, "IT IS OUR SACRED TASK TO SPEED UP FOSTERING THE SENSE OF GRATITUDE, LOVE AND RESPECT TO THE PEOPLE AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION..."

-- HE STRESSES THE IMPORTANCE OF CURRENT "SOVIET-AFGHAN COOPERATION PROJECTS SUCH AS THE TECHNICAL SYSTEMS OF THE SALANG TUNNEL, ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DOMESTIC AIRPORT OF KABUL, POWER TRANSMISSION LINE OF 110KV FROM THE SOVIET UNION TO KUNDUZ; 1000KW MEDIUM WAVE RADIO STATION IN KABUL CITY (ETC.)..."

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-- SUGGESTING THAT MR IN THE DRA MIGHT BECOME A SOVIET  
PROTOTYPE FOR OTHER TROUBLED SOVIET CLIENT STATES, NAJIB  
ANNOUNCED THAT "OUR VIETNAMESE COMRADES" WOULD BE COMING TO  
AFGHANISTAN "TO LEARN THE PRINCIPLES OF RECONCILIATION".  
OTHERS "EXPRESSING INTEREST" IN SUCH VISITS REPORTEDLY INCLUDE  
THE "LEADERSHIPS OF KAMPUCHEA, ANGOLA, BENIN, YEMEN, CONGO,  
ETHIOPIA AND ALGERIA.

7. UPCOMING DEVELOPMENTS ANNOUNCED:

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NAJIB ANNOUNCED THE FOLLOWING UPCOMING POLITICAL EVENTS:

-- "WE (THE PARTY PROPOSE THE NAME OF 'THE REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN'  
AS A NEW NAME FOR THE STATE.

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-- A "HIGH PEACE JIRGAH" WILL BE HELD IN THE MONTH OF SUMBULA

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(AUGUST 23-SEPTEMBER 22).

-- A JIRGAH OF HAZARA NATIONALITY WILL BE CONVENED.

-- A JIRGAH OF NOMADS WILL BE HELD "IN THE NEAR FUTURE."

-- THE COMMISSION ASSIGNED TO DRAFT A CONSTITUTION HAS COMPLETED ITS WORK. "THIS DRAFT WILL BE PUBLISHED SHORTLY."

8. ASSESSMENT OF THE MILITARY EFFORT:

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-- NAJIB ACKNOWLEDGES "...PRESENCE OF A COMPLICATED SITUATION IN SOME STRATEGIC PARTS OF THE COUNTRY (AND AN) EXPANSION OF THE DIMENSIONS OF THE UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST THE DRA."

-- HE CLAIMS DRA ARMED FORCES "STRICTLY OBSERVED THE CEASEFIRE FOR ABOUT TWO MONTHS," (SUGGESTING THE CEASEFIRE WAS IN EFFECT A DEAD LETTER BY MID-MARCH.)

-- HE CALLS FOR "FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE ARMY, SARANDOI AND ORGANS OF STATE SECURITY."

-- SUGGESTING THAT THE REGIME CONTROLS LITTLE MORE THAN THE CAPITAL, NAJIB ACKNOWLEDGES THAT 92 PERCENT OF THE VOLUNTEERS (SIC) (FOR THE DRA MILITARY) WERE ATTRACTED AND RECRUITED IN KABUL IN RECENT MONTHS."

-- NAJIB EMPHASIZES THAT "DECISIVE STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO STRENGTHEN MILITARY DISCIPLINE AND BETTER ENSURE THE ACTIVITIES OF FULLY AUTHORIZED COMMANDERS AND THE LAW ENFORCEMENT ORGANS."

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9. ADDRESSING PROBLEMS WITHIN THE PARTY:

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-- "THE PARTY WILL DECISIVELY BID FAREWELL TO THOSE WHO HAVE NOT REORGANIZED THEMSELVES, (THOSE) STICKING TO OLD TIMES, (WHO) DO NOT WANT TO SERVE RECONCILIATION AND (WHO) EVEN MAKE FUTILE EFFORTS TO SLACKEN ITS PROGRESS."

-- "...PARTY COMRADES HAVE DIRECTLY DEMANDED...FURTHER CONSOLIDATION AND UNITY (OF) THE PARTY AND EXPULSION OF THE FACTIONISTS FROM THE PARTY. WE ATTACH PARTICULAR HOPE (TO) THE COMMISSION FOR THE UNITY OF THE PARTY RANKS SET UP UNDER THE

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POLITBURO."

-- "WE HAVE NOT YET REORGANIZED THE CADRE POLICY. WE MAKE MISTAKES IN SUBMITTING TO PRESSURE EXERTED BY RELATIVES, FRIENDS AND FACTIONALISM...SOME DEPARTMENTS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DO NOT HAVE ENOUGH COURAGE ... TO GET RID OF THOSE WHO HAVE OCCUPIED LEADING POSTS ..."

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10. COMMENT: IN GENERAL A NUMBER OF THINGS THAT NAJIB DOES NOT ADDRESS IN THE PUBLIC SUMMARY OF HIS REPORT STRIKE US AS MORE INTERESTING THAN WHAT HE DID SAY. HE SPECIFICALLY DOES NOT DISCUSS A ROLE FOR THE FORMER KING EXCEPT TO HINT BROADLY THAT THE FORMER KING WOULD NOT HAVE THE HEAD OF STATE ROLE. (BY CALLING FOR THE POST OF PRESIDENT TO BE VESTED WITH REAL POWER, OBSERVERS HERE CONCLUDE THAT NAJIB AND THE POPA INTEND TO RESERVE THE POST FOR NAJIB OR SOME OTHER PARTY/SOVIET DESIGNEE.) HE DOES NOT ELABORATE ON THE ROLE OF THE POPA VIS-A-VIS OTHER PARTIES NOR INDICATE ANY POPA WILLINGNESS TO SHARE THE KEY MINISTRY PORTFOLIOS: DEFENSE, SECURITY, FOREIGN RELATIONS AND INTERIOR. IT APPEARS THAT THE OUTCOME THE POPA ENVISAGES IS THE FORMATION OF CONTROLLED, LARGELY PAPER PARTIES COMPRISED OF PLIANT CLERGY, BUSINESSMEN, AND PEASANTS TO

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PROVIDE THE TRAPPINGS OF A MULTI-PARTY STATE. PRESUMABLY THEIR LATITUDE WILL BE IN THE RANGE OF THAT ACCORDED THE

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"DEMOCRATIC YOUTH ORGANIZATION," "AFGHANISTAN WOMENS ORGANIZATION" OR THE VARIOUS SMALL LEFTIST TRADE UNIONS BEFORE THEY WERE SWALLOWED BY THE PDPA IN 1986. THE "PEACE JIRGAHS" TO BE CONVENED AT VARIOUS LOCAL LEVELS PRESUMABLY ARE INTENDED TO APPEAL TO THE WEST AND MUJAHIDIN, OFFERING A FORMULA FOR LOCAL "SOVIET WITHDRAWAL." IT SEEMS RATHER TO BE NO MORE THAN A PACIFICATION STRATEGY ALLOWING FOR REDEPLOYMENT OF SOVIET FORCES FROM PACIFIED AREAS TO HOT SPOTS. ENO COMMENT.  
MCWILLIAMS

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